

A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE MILITARY
AND CONGRESS - THE ROLE OF THE BUDGET

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For:

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Within this paper, I shall try to point up the human relations problem between the military and Congress with specific emphasis on the role that the military budget plays in this problem. To some, this correlation may seem somewhat far-fetched, however, there is certainly a relationship of some kind...the degree of relationship is relatively unimportant and academic. Certainly no one can deny that a general misunderstanding and a lack of confidence does exist between Congress and the military. Can this be corrected? I am not sure. Perhaps everything that can be done to bring about mutual esteem is now being done, but I doubt it. In my opinion the solution to the problem is largely dependent upon those people who "present" and justify the budget to Congress. This then resolves into a matter of personalities and individual solutions. What would be a good solution for one person would be a bad one for someone else: "inasmuch as the opinions of Congress vary with the personal relations of those who "present" the

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During this paper, I shall try to point out the main
 relations between the various theories of the
 modern world, and to show that the various theories
 are not so different as they seem, but that they
 are all based on the same principles. I shall try to
 show that the various theories are all based on the
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budget, the impression they make, their reputations in military circles the informativeness and lucidity of their statements, the modesty of their requests, the accuracy of their previous statements, the extent of their agreement with experts, and so on.¹ If there could be a "pat" solution, I feel sure that it would have been developed before this time. But again, perhaps the solution is available but not employed or practiced. Can there be "a" solution to any human relations problem? There are always several alternates that are possible. My basic purpose is to get people aware of a problem, suggest certain ideas or alternates, then leave them to their own decisions. I trust that the problem is emphasized within this paper and that there are a few provocative ideas developed which will aid the reader in reaching sound conclusions "of his own".

The word "military" as used within the paper refers to either the Department of Defense, as a whole, or more specifically to the military managers, the officers.

¹Heezar, Elias, "Congress and the Army; Appropriations" The American Political Science Review, August 1943, p. 664.

CHAPTER II

Relation of the Military Budget to the Human Relations Problem

The Department of Defense exists exclusively for the purpose of providing the United States with Military Security. Perhaps the "first link in the chain" of providing this security might be called the military budget. This budget is the medium through which democratic planning and control of military operations are made possible. It is a document which gives Congress a basis for approving and passing appropriations acts and the President a basis for control of finances. It may be said that the military budget represents in monetary terms the operations, tactical and administrative, which are considered necessary for a period of time to provide national security. In these perilous times, it hardly seems necessary to emphasize to anyone the tremendous importance of providing this security. Most of our statesmen and military leaders are of the opinion that our military strength means the difference between war and peace, economic security and poverty, freedom and enslavement, even life and death!

The proposed military budget which is presented to Congress for approval is the vehicle for justifying and obtaining the

CHAPTER II

REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

The history of Boston is a subject of great interest to the

people of this city, and has been the subject of many

works of history, and is now the subject of a new

work, which is now in the press. This book is

the result of a long and careful study of the

history of this city, and is a valuable

contribution to the history of the city.

The first part of the book is devoted to the

early history of the city, and is a

very interesting and valuable

contribution to the history of the city.

The second part of the book is devoted to the

history of the city from 1630 to 1780, and is

a very interesting and valuable

contribution to the history of the city.

The third part of the book is devoted to the

history of the city from 1780 to the present

time, and is a very interesting and valuable

contribution to the history of the city.

necessary money for the operation of the Department of Defense.. without funds a military organization cannot exist. Accordingly, the limiting or expanding, the beginning or ending, of any particular function or operation may be controlled by money... or lack of money. This leads one to the natural conclusion that our national security is indirectly or directly determined by the funds appropriated for the military organization, the Department of Defense.

It must be assumed that both the members of Congress and the military organization are sincere in their efforts to obtain optimum or adequate military security for our country. However, there are often disagreements between these two elements as to exactly what constitutes optimum military security or the correct methods of achieving it.¹

¹ Cf. Ferguson and Mc Henry, The American System of Government, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950) p. 602: "Almost every speaker on the subject pledges support for adequate defense. But what is adequate? The term is obviously relative. No defenses at all are adequate along the 3000 mile Canadian border. Virtually no navy and a small army were adequate before 1900. What might be adequate for the defense of continental United States would be insufficient to carry the attack to another continent. What might be adequate for a small agrarian nation might not be for a large imperialist power. What would be adequate with allies would not be without them. What was adequate before the atom bomb is less so now. Obviously, the concept of adequacy is variable. It depends upon geography, the amount of good will that exists, the strength of allies and potential enemies, technological developments, and foreign and domestic policies followed by various countries of the world. All this suggests that national defense programs cannot be static but must be adapted to changing conditions. It also suggests that in the long run the best defense is a program designed to minimize world tensions."

These differences in opinion are frequently only the natural differences of opinion between human beings attempting to reach a common goal by different thinking, methods, or ideas. All too often though, these differences are based on prejudice, distrust, suspicion, and misunderstanding. Little can be done to make all individuals think alike, nor would that be advisable even if it were possible. On the other hand, perhaps something can be done to destroy or alleviate much of the prejudice, distrust, suspicion, and misunderstanding. Basically these are matters of human relations which are controllable to some degree once the reasons for such are understood and a conscientious effort is made by those concerned to solve their differences. The matter of human relations thus becomes a matter of serious concern when it concerns the presentation of the military budget. The security of our country is to a large degree dependent upon mutual understanding, trust and esteem between the military and the "men on the hill". This paper concerns the importance of proper human relations between these two groups.

I have been in the Washington Area for almost four years. During this time I have become more and more concerned about what appears to be a widening gap between the military and Congress. As a professional military man I have great personal interest in the laws and restrictions which Congress places upon me as a member of the Armed Forces. It seems that each year brings new limitations and restrictions. One such restriction, placed into effect some two years ago, denied

retirement pay to a substantial group of officers although they were entitled by permanent law to retirement, mandatory at their option. Another was a restriction on the promotion of lower-ranking officers. Another was the restriction of the type of goods and services that Post Exchanges could offer. And still another was the lowering of the shipping weight allowance for household and personal effects upon change of station. These are only a few examples of what we military men might call personal grievances against the "men on the hill". In addition to personal reasons, I have been concerned about the loss of respect and deference that the Congress has evidenced towards the military as a whole and the consequences thereof. The inducement for one to become a part of the Armed Forces has never been primarily monetary. The salaries are modest and the responsibilities many. Perhaps the greatest inducement is the respect and affection of the people which military men in the past have had. This respect and affection has in the past few years been partially destroyed by the actions and public expressions of Congress. For example, the newspapers almost daily carry quotations made by one or more members of Congress in which they mention such terms as "inefficiency," "bureaucracy," "stupidity," "waste," "brass hats," and "military brass". All of these terms, aimed at the military leaders, the officers, have materially lessened the prestige of the Armed Forces. So much so, that a large part of the civilian population of our country regard their military leaders with suspicion and mixed feelings of contempt instead of honorable men who have pledged

themselves to defend and protect their country. This loss of respect and prestige is seriously affecting the officer procurement programs of the entire military organization. Not only are the services finding it difficult to fill their officer procurement quotas but it is evident that the most desirable men are no longer looking upon military service with the esteem that they once did.¹ Out of a class of 660 officers at Annapolis, only seventy percent chose to stay in the Regulars.² Eighty, fourth year cadets at West Point out of a class of 670 have resigned this year, compared with 62 out of 649 in 1951, and 43 out of 749 the previous year. Thirty percent of those reserve officers ordered to active duty without their consent in 1950 and 1951 volunteered to remain on active duty...now less than 15 percent have such a preference. Some 20 percent of reservists on active duty are declining to accept indefinite reserve commissions and therefore must be released

¹ A thorough study into why the services aren't getting enough career officers has been ordered by Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson, the answers to that question are the job of a special inter-service committee which is to come up with concrete proposals by 27 April 1953. The answers are not expected to be confined to material benefits only...the Joint Chiefs of Staff and General Omar Bradley, who laid down the rules the group is following, stress that prestige and pride of service are key factors in getting good men to make military service a career.

² Navy Times, 11 April 1953, p.11.

when their five year appointments terminate.¹ Surely something must be done to prevent further deterioration of military prestige. It is recognized that the military are not without fault, and are many times guilty of many of the charges leveled against them. However, by an overwhelming majority, most of the officers are inherently honest doing the very best they can to provide our country with military security and at the same time abide by the many restrictions and limitations placed upon them by Congress. Moreover, the lurid criticism which has become so popular with Congress is largely directed at a "whipping boy" who cannot strike back, it becomes apparent that the military must do all within its power to prevent criticism by doing its job well and furthering human relations to prevent, misunderstanding, suspicion, and further loss of prestige. One might ask what all this has to do with the military budget? The answer is, Congress judges the efficiency and integrity of the military organization in terms of dollars... in terms of how much it costs to run the military organization. Almost all of the criticism against the military is a direct or indirect criticism of the quantity of money spent by them. The quantity of money that can be spent by the military is, of course, determined and governed by the military budget.

¹ The Washington Evening Star, 1 March 1953.

Thus it becomes easy to see that the basic problem of maintaining or restoring mutual respect between the military and Congress is in one-way or another connected with the military budget.

The purpose of this paper is to emphasize the importance of the military budget and to point out the human relation problem between the military and Congress in connection with the presentation of this budget. Since I am a part of the military organization, I am most interested in what the military can do to alleviate criticism and to further their prestige. In my opinion, to accomplish this, the military must largely confine themselves to a submissive and passive role because they are essentially the servants of the people, whereas Congress acts as the master, in the role of the representative of the people. Under these circumstances, the military can never defend itself with the same vigor by which it is attacked. Moreover, to criticize or attack Congress would not be permitted...and it would be suicide! In conducting research for this paper, I became more or less convinced that the military as a whole is making a conscientious effort to please the Congress short of relinquishing its moral obligation to defend what it believes is absolutely vital for national security. Nevertheless, the military seems to be suffering a continuous loss of prestige. In my opinion, this is due primarily to the lack of a conscientious effort on the part of the Congress to work out differences of opinion and understand the problems of the military. Instead, Congress is more prone to dispose of

Thus it becomes clear to me that the state of delinquency
on receiving orders issued by the military and police is
in some way connected with the military system.

The nature of this system is to encourage the formation of
the military habit and to make the police system
between the military and police in connection with law.

Government of this kind. There is a part of the military
organization, I am not interested in that part of the
to eliminate delinquency and to make the police system.

Further, in connection with the military and police system
themselves in a military and police system they are
especially the interests of the people, because the police
as the result of the police and the police system of the police.
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connection between the police and the police system is in
connection with the police system and the police system of the
connection, because it is in connection with the police system.

controversial issues by command rather than by reaching mutual agreements and understanding. I am not sure that anything can be done to change this attitude of Congress, but if anything can be done, I believe it must be done on the part of the military. If the military can convince the Congress that it is doing its utmost to provide the maximum security for the minimum amount of money, the problem will, in effect, be solved. Again, a fundamental means of accomplishing this is through the annual proposed military budget. If the proposed budget is well prepared with proper and convincing justification, and if the proposed budget is properly presented by those appearing before the Appropriation Subcommittees of the House and Senate, much will be accomplished in winning the cooperation and understanding of Congress. This in itself is not an easy matter for there are no definite or magic formulas. There are, however, certain basic principles of budget formulation and human psychology which those people, who prepare the budget and those who are called upon to testify on the military budget, should learn and practice. Some of these basic principles of human psychology, which a well known professor of George Washington University refers to as matters of sensitivity, are mentioned within this paper.

The military must perform a better job of selling...of selling itself. Without question, improvement can also be made in operations to provide more efficiency and economy, however, as I mentioned previously, I believe that the military

operates at a better than average level of efficiency.

Once they have been voted their billions, how well do the military managers spend them? More efficiently, on the whole than the headlines out of Senator Lyndon Johnson's subcommittee would suggest. Service paper work will be forever a topic for humor, but the work is probably as quick and effective as is possible in a \$50 - billion operation - - close to ten times the expenses of General Motors.

Supplies flow to Korea without hitches. In the Mediterranean the Sixth fleet refuels and resupplies at sea, just as World War II tankers and cargo ships used to rendezvous at the exact time and places laid down in plans made three months previously. There are now in locked files war plans as detailed as those that covered the invasion of Okinawa, which involved some 1,400 ships from eleven ports, a million men, and millions of tons of material. During World War II, indeed, military administration gave lessons to private business in matters ranging from accounting (the complex and smooth system of getting out family allotments) to the importance of time as a factor in production planning (the detailed supply-in-supply-out schedules of the Pentagon). And since the war, to the slightly patronizing surprise of some civilian bystanders, several officers have made easy and impressive transitions from top military management to top industrial management, notably General Brehon Somerwell, now president of Koppers Co., Admiral Ben Moreell, president of Jones and Laughlin, and General Lucius Clay, chairman of Continental Can Co.¹

Of course, there are many examples which are exploited by the press and Congress in an attempt to show that all military operations and procedures are chaotic, but in my opinion, these are exceptions. Unfortunately much emphasis and publicity is given to our blunders, but the overwhelming majority of those other operations which are satisfactory are commonplace and usually unheralded and unnoticed. Nevertheless, it is

¹ "The U. S. Military Mind", Fortune Magazine, February 1952, p. 93.

The Board of Directors has reviewed the financial statements of the Corporation for the year ended December 31, 1970, and has approved the same for release to the stockholders. The financial statements have been audited by the independent accountants, and the audit report is included in the financial statements. The Board of Directors also has approved the dividend payment of \$0.10 per share for the year ended December 31, 1970.

The Board of Directors has also reviewed the management's discussion and analysis of the Corporation's financial condition and results of operations for the year ended December 31, 1970, and has approved the same for release to the stockholders. The management's discussion and analysis is included in the financial statements. The Board of Directors also has approved the appointment of the independent accountants for the year ended December 31, 1971.

The Board of Directors has also reviewed the Corporation's annual report for the year ended December 31, 1970, and has approved the same for release to the stockholders. The annual report is included in the financial statements. The Board of Directors also has approved the appointment of the independent accountants for the year ended December 31, 1971.

incumbent upon the military to seek improvement and perfection. Improvement will, of course, bring about economies which in turn will be reflected by the budget. This reduced budget can be the medium through which Congress can be sold upon the efficiencies and economies achieved by the military. Again I repeat, Congress interprets the amount of money required by the military as a measure of both its efficiency and integrity. A reduced budget is not in itself necessarily recognized by the Congress as due to improvements by the military. If such reductions are due to improvements in efficiency, the military will find it to their advantage to convince Congress of this fact. Since proposed budgets contain a summary of expenditures for the last completed fiscal year, the estimated expenditures for the current fiscal year and the estimated expenditures for the budget year, the justifications and "back-up" material should tactfully suggest certain comparisons of previous expenditures with those which have been reduced or which are estimated for the future. It should be explained how these economies have been achieved. More than that, a subtle job of salesmanship is in order, to impress those reviewing the budget, of the effectiveness and sincerity of the military organization. And most important, because justifications and "back-up" material are not always read or digested by the right people, those who appear before Congressional committees should, if they are given the opportunity, strive to impress the Congress

of the sincere desire of the military to provide the optimum national security with the maximum efficiency and at the lowest possible cost. So much is dependent upon these people testifying before Congress! Here, at least once a year, is one of the infrequent times that the military has the "face-to-face" opportunity to sell itself to Congress. Full and effective use should be made of this opportunity. I have previously concluded the military organization's role in winning the esteem of Congress will be a passive one; one in which the military must conform to the desires of Congress and convince the Congress that it is conforming to these desires. Sometimes this role is a difficult one to follow, especially when the military feels that the desires of Congress if followed will jeopardize national security. Naturally, the military should use its limited persuasive powers in an attempt to convince Congress of what it believes is essential or right. However, there can be no doubt as to who has "the final say" for the constitution gives Congress the unrestricted authority to "raise and support armies", to "provide and maintain a navy", and unrestricted authority to make "rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces".¹

¹ Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 8.

of the House of Representatives to the Senate to provide for the
 execution of the laws of the United States, and to
 have the power to impeach and to be impeached by the
 House of Representatives, for and from the same reasons,
 the Senate shall have the power to try all impeachments,
 and when sitting for that purpose shall be sworn or
 affirmed to do full justice, without regard to persons,
 offices, or political opinions; and no senator shall be
 disqualified from sitting on account of impeachment.
 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all
 impeachments, and when sitting for that purpose shall
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 to persons, offices, or political opinions; and no
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 be disqualified from sitting on account of impeachment.

The hearings on appropriation bills are at the heart of Congressional control of the Military Establishment. To the soldiers who "present the needs of the War Department" they are an obstacle and an opportunity; for here they win or lose approval for projects...To the legislators, they are an ordeal and an obligation; for here they discharge their responsibility to their colleagues and their constituents in seeking national security at an economical price.¹

¹ Heezar, Elias, "Congress and the Army; Appropriations," The American Political Science Review, August 1943.

The practice of "baptizing" names of the streets
of Constantinople is not an ancient custom. It
is the result of the "baptism" of the city by
the Emperor Constantine in 325. The names of the
streets were then changed to reflect the new
Christian faith. This practice was continued
by subsequent emperors, and it is still in
vogue today. The names of the streets are
usually given in Greek, but they are also
given in Turkish. This is a result of the
fact that the city has been ruled by many
different peoples over the centuries.

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CHAPTER III

A Better Understanding Through A Knowledge Of The Problems

Alfred Adler, the famous Viennese psychologist wrote a book entitled What Life Should Mean to You in which he said:

It is the individual who is not interested in his fellow men who has the greatest difficulties in life and provides the greatest injury to others. It is from among such individuals that all human failures spring.

Perhaps no better way of establishing mutual respect for one another is possible than by having both the military and the Congress understand each others problems. Neither one would be so quick to criticize if they had a full knowledge of why each does the things it does. It goes without saying that almost no one would disagree with this idea, however, the scope of knowledge that each has concerning the problems besieging the other is undoubtedly very limited. I believe that the usual attitude of both the military and Congress is one of, "I've got enough problems of my own and I'm not going to concern myself with the troubles of someone else". Such an attitude on the part of both must be responsible for much of the misunderstanding and suspicion which each has for the other. It therefore behooves both the military and the Congress to study and appreciate the problems that each has, not only from the

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standpoint of furthering their mutual respect but in the interest of national security and unity.

I have previously expressed my opinion that the military must take the initiative in bringing about a better understanding with Congress. They must first set the example, if Congress is to heed the example and follow suit. What then are some of the problems of Congress of which the military should be aware? There are undoubtedly thousands of problems which plague the Congress but I shall mention here only a few concerning the budget for I have also concluded that the budget is the "heart" of the human relations problem between the military and Congress. For a thorough study of all types of problems confronting the Congress, I recommend that the reader obtain Mr. George B. Galloway's excellent book entitled, Congress at the Crossroads.¹

Federal expenditure is one of the great areas of Congressional control of administration. Perhaps nine-tenths of the work of Congress is concerned, directly or indirectly, with the spending of public money. The spending power is the constitutional birthright of Congress, for that document provides that "no money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law". The adjustment of the military budget to the real military needs on the one hand, and to the

¹ Galloway, George B., Congress at the Crossroads,
(New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946)

the legitimate claims of the civilian economy on the other has never been an easy problem. Not only must Congress decide on the proportional division of the budget but it also has the responsibility for determining limits of expenditures. Expenditures could be so great as to create a strain on the American economy which in turn, could ultimately destroy everything for which the military establishment exists to defend. It is therefore the responsibility of Congress to regulate expenditures in order to maintain economic security and to prevent bankruptcy. Since the Federal budget is presently dominated by the cost of national security, it is the responsibility of the military to appreciate the problem of Congress to control expenditures.

A most solemn obligation rests on Congress at all time to exercise its Constitution responsibility with the utmost fidelity. Since the public moneys are in the Treasury, it is essential that the Congress be adequately informed as to the needs of the Government before appropriating money. The submission of the Budget document to Congress is the most important single factor assuring the proper execution by Congress of its functions with respect to appropriation of public funds.¹

With a public debt of about \$275 billion and the annual budget expenditures of the federal government currently running around \$75 billion, there is a wide spread demand by the public that Congress strengthen its control over the public purse.

¹ Naylor, E. E., The Federal Budget System In Operation, (Washington, D. C., 1941), p. 113.

The military must take cognizance of the increasing cost of national security and realize that "trimming the budget" does not represent disciplinary action by the Congress but a genuine effort to carry out the responsibilities of Congress in its role as keeper of the purse. Cost of government and national security has risen phenomenally within the last decade. In the proposed budget for fiscal year 1954, which was submitted to the Congress by former President Truman, 73 percent of all budget expenditures were for six major national security programs (the development of atomic energy, military services, the promotion of defense production and economic stabilization, civil defense, merchant marine activity, international security, and foreign relations). It is also interesting and alarming to note that more money was spent in fiscal year 1952 on national security than was spent on national security altogether for the 25 year period from 1900 to 1925. The following table shows the tremendous cost increase in overall government cost and in defense. It also indicates the increasing proportion of the federal budget which is being spent for defense.

(Millions of Dollars)

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Total Budget Expenditures</u>	<u>National Security</u>	<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Total Budget Expenditures</u>	<u>National Security</u>
1900	521	191	1926	3,098	586
1901	525	206	1927	2,974	578
1902	485	180	1928	3,103	656
1903	517	202	1929	3,299	696
1904	584	268	1930	3,440	734
1905	567	244	1931	3,577	733
1906	570	247	1932	4,659	703
1907	579	247	1933	4,623	648
1908	659	294	1934	6,694	540
1909	694	308	1935	6,521	711
1910	694	284	1936	8,493	914
1911	691	283	1937	7,756	937
1912	690	284	1938	6,938	1,030
1913	725	293	1939	8,966	1,074
1914	735	298	1940	9,183	1,497
1915	761	297	1941	13,387	6,370
1916	734	305	1942	34,187	28,847
1917	1,978	602	1943	79,622	70,267
1918	12,697	7,110	1944	95,315	83,766
1919	18,515	13,548	1945	98,703	84,569
1920	6,403	3,997	1946	60,703	45,134
1921	5,116	2,581	1947	39,289	14,316
1922	3,373	929	1948	33,791	10,961
1923	3,295	680	1949	40,057	11,914
1924	3,049	647	1950	40,156	12,303
1925	3,063	591	1951*	46,574	20,358
Estimated			1952	71,111	40,938 ¹

¹ National Industrial Conference Board. The Economic Almanac 1951-1952.

It becomes self-evident that Congress is faced with a problem of complexity and responsibility, in keeping expenditures consistent with our national objectives. The United States is presently deep in both a hot and cold war, the end of which cannot be foreseen. The expense of defending what amounts to an American empire against Communism, if not wisely and courageously handled, can undermine our republic. There are limits on spending, which must be recognized by the military, beyond which the mere size of federal expenditures is a menace to free economy, and therefore to free political institutions.

Perhaps the greatest problem of Congress is the magnitude of work which is thrust upon it. The business of Congress, once comparatively simple, has become almost unlimited in subject matter, tremendous in amount, and exceedingly complex.

In the last analysis, of course, it is the individual congressman and his office staff who bear the real brunt of the burden of representative government today. The conscientious congressman is a plural personality. If he takes his job seriously, and most of them do, he is at once a national lawmaker, a representative of his state or district, an overseer of administration, a watchdog of the Treasury, an errand boy and counsel for his constituents, a partner in foreign policy, and a keeper of the legislative household. With all these duties and responsibilities the hard-working member obviously must be a modern Hercules, and it is small wonder if he has at times an inferiority complex.

Time and again congressional witnesses, who appeared before the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress during its 1945 hearings, complained that they were physically unable to perform their legislative duties satisfactorily.

Handling their mail, interviewing constituents and callers, visiting departments on behalf of aggrieved groups in their districts, keeping committee appointments, and attending chamber sessions left little time for the adequate study of complex legislative problems. The consensus of the testimony on this point was that the average member of Congress, especially from the larger and more populous states and districts, is now so preoccupied with trouble-shooting details and non-legislative matters that he can spend only a small fraction of his time as a legislator.¹

An appreciation by the military of the tremendous work load imposed upon Congress would undoubtedly increase the military's respect for our legislators. Moreover, it is doubtful that the military would be as critical of the budget review made by Congress if they realized the handicaps under which the members of Congress review the military budget.

...the federal government was generating more and more complex business, until that business was simply beyond Congress' power to control.

The situation was manifest in the house when a weary and bewildered subcommittee of seven members reported on the Administrations \$56 billion defense bill.

"The sum of \$56 billion is almost beyond comprehension," Mr. Wigglesworth of Massachusetts, told the chamber, "I think it is probably easier for the average person to grasp the vastness of the universe than to picture this astronomical sum...the justifications originally submitted to your committee, if piled on top of each other, would extend, I should judge, some twenty-four inches upward from the table..."

"The testimony submitted was in many cases highly unsatisfactory. Time and time again no breakdown was available; fundamental information was not forthcoming". He recalled

¹ Galloway, George B., Congress at the Crossroads, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946), p. 57.

then a discussion with an admiral over a certain request for \$1,350,000. The admiral had made a particularly vague statement in trying to justify this item. Mr. Wigglesworth had said: "I would like to ask the admiral, if he were sitting on this side of the table, on the basis of that statement how he would determine whether you need \$1,350,000 or \$500,000 or \$5,000,000?" The admiral answered blankly: "Sir, I would be at a loss."

Mr. Meader, of Michigan, summarized the situation. "Unless we have the facts we cannot act wisely and exercise effectively the power and authority which the Constitution vests in us."

The House subcommittee in 1951 had only a dozen investigators on its staff, Mr. Meader cried: "The committee is dealing with this huge and difficult task without adequate tools. Seven men almost with their bare hands are standing up to a huge organization with thousands of officials, both civilian and military, devoting their full time to the presentation of self-serving statements and documents, and inundating the committee with a plethora of testimony and charts and statistics which the committee is unable to digest, to say nothing of challenging. The Congress is at the mercy of the executive...What if they had asked for eighty billion instead of fifty-six billion? Would the committee have been able to challenge and resist the request?"¹

This problem is not a new one; Woodrow Wilson recognized it years ago when he said: "Congress stands almost helplessly outside of the departments; even the special investigations which it institutes from time to time do not afford it more than a glimpse of the inside of a small province of federal administration. Hostile or designing officials can always hold it at arm's length by dexterous evasions and concealments."²

¹ "Has Congress Failed", Fortune Magazine, February 1952, p. 84.

² "Congress Can Stop Government Waste", Readers Digest, March 1953.

Still another problem to Congress are the impractical rules and regulations by which Congress is governed.

A good part of the inability of Congress to deal with the inherent power of the executive lies in Congress' own inherent weakness. As the first session of the eighty-second so painfully illustrated, Congress is tied down by its own rules. Members are shackled by committee chairmen who are chairmen by virtue of nothing but their seniority... All members are burdened by what Edmund Burke called the legislator's "mean and petty business" - looking after the countless requests of constituents, running voters' errands, passing out patronage.

They are engulfed in the cumbersome legislative procedure, which has had no substantial improvement since the days of James Madison - as many as twenty-eight separate steps may be needed to pass an act.¹

These are perhaps only the major problems which Congress has in regulating and approving the military budget. An understanding and appreciation of the problems by the military would undoubtedly temper their grievances against "the men on the hill".

¹ Fortune Magazine, op. cit., p. 222.

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CHAPTER IV

Basic Rules For Budget Presentation

The annual proposed budget is submitted to Congress by the President. When received by the Congress, the budget is next referred to the House Appropriations Committee which then refers the proposed budget to a subcommittee for detailed study and recommendation. After lengthy hearings and examination, the committee reports to the House its recommendations for the various departments and agencies in the form of appropriation bills, usually accompanied by reports. When the House completes its action on the appropriation bills, they are then sent to the Senate where they begin a course similar to that they followed in the House. From the military viewpoint, the most important phase of these procedures are the hearings held by the subcommittees of the House and Senate. These subcommittees call upon the military departments to testify and explain in detail the programs for which they are administratively responsible.

Hearings by the Appropriations Subcommittee of the House and Senate provide a valuable opportunity for face-to-face discussion between members of Congress and officials of the executive departments and agencies. At these hearings each year representatives of the Department and

its agencies present to Congress a report of progress on(...) programs to date and a detailed justification of the future programs proposed in the President's Budget.

Through the oral testimony given at these hearings, the Department representatives perform one of the most vital functions of a public servant. They furnish an important part of the evidence upon which Congress...through exercising its constitutional responsibility for determining how much money will be taken from the Federal Treasury and the purposes for which it will be used...will decide on what Government programs should be supported with the manpower and material resources of the American people.

At the same time these officials are rendering a public accounting of their past administration and expenditures to an interested congressional subcommittee which can frequently offer constructive criticism and helpful suggestions for the future execution of(...)programs. The greater understanding which results on all sides works in favor of well considered action on proposed programs and at the same time increases the sense of individual responsibility on the part of those who will carry them out.¹

Those who testify on the proposed budget to Congress must be aware of the tremendous responsibility which is theirs. They must be a combination of a salesman and a psychologist, and be one of those capable and "sensitive" persons who knows what the correct action or answer is under any situation. Upon these people, to a large degree, depends whether or not the military will get the funds that they have requested as being essential to national security. I mentioned previously, that while there are certain rules of courtesy and human behavior which should be practiced by those who testify before

¹ Department of Agriculture Budget and Finance Circular 788 (Dec. 7, 1944) with Supplements and Amendments thereto: pp. 102-103.

The speaker presents in his paper a number of suggestions for the improvement of the present system of the United States Navy, and a number of suggestions for the improvement of the present system of the United States Navy.

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Congress, there is no one set of rules covering all individuals under all circumstances. What one person might say or do which might be considered proper, might be considered improper for another. In short, even though accepted rules of behavior are followed, results depend to a very large degree upon personalities. It is essential then that those chosen to testify before Congress be chosen very carefully. Of course, I realize that in many cases the selection is determined not by who is the best person to testify, but by who occupies a certain job. In all cases, however, it is essential that what I have described as rules of courtesy and human behavior be practiced. The following, "Advice to Witnesses testifying before Congressional Committees", as published by the Navy Judge Advocate General covers what I refer to as "rules and guidelines" for congressional witnesses.

1. Familiarity with the subject matter of a bill under consideration by a committee is the prime requisite for any witness. A copy of the bill should be read prior to testifying and be available for reference.

2. Familiarity with the effect of a measure in its operation on the Navy and the Department of Defense, as a whole, is equally important.

3. The following specific advice is offered to witnesses on other points:

- (a) The witness should introduce himself and state his duty assignment in order that the committee and the reporter may have full information. The witness should identify the department or agency for whom he may be testifying. Witnesses not seated at the witness table should stand

when making statements or answering questions and should speak clearly, loudly, and slowly enough to be understood by all committee members and the reporter.

- (b) When statements are read, they should be read slowly, clearly, and with appropriate emphasis. In most instances, written statements, made available in sufficient quantity for each committee member to have a copy, are recommended.
- (c) The Committee chairman should be addressed as "Mr. Chairman." Other members may be addressed by name, if known. Beware of the name plates in front of committee members' places; not infrequently a member may be sitting in the place assigned to another member.
- (d) Visual presentations when appropriate are usually well received. Large charts cannot be placed in the record, however. When visual media are used, therefore, the unclassified material therefrom should be read into the record, unless the entire chart is unclassified in which case photographic reproductions may be placed in the record.
- (e) Witnesses should realize that they are testifying as to facts for the information of Congress. They are not witnesses in a criminal or civil trial in which rules of evidence apply. Frank, clear, and candid statements and replies are most effective.
- (f) When an answer to a question would reveal classified material it is most important for the witness to so state, and to indicate willingness to reveal the material in an executive or closed session of the committee.
- (g) When the witness does not know the answer to a question and does not have data or assistants with him, he should offer to obtain the material for the record and make it a personal responsibility to see that the staff assistant

which would be a serious disadvantage to the Government. It is therefore suggested that the Government should consider the possibility of a similar arrangement in the future.

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or clerk of the committee receives the information promptly. All witnesses expecting to testify should have their notes, tables, and other data thoroughly indexed (tabs are recommended) in order that pertinent factual information can be given directly and not have to be furnished for the record. (NOTE. Some committee members have expressed themselves in strong terms regarding information that is not available when asked for during the hearing and has to be provided at a later date. They feel that this material is of little use to them for they are thereby not enabled to develop the areas they wish to go into, and they have little time later to go back and review. They consider, therefore, that they are not in a good position to defend the bill on the floor.)

- (h) A witness should maintain control of those who are assisting him and not permit extended discussion on irrelevant material from his own assistants. The chief witness is not expected to attempt to answer all the questions, himself. In budget hearing, he should refer questions on details to the program manager or the person most closely associated with the part of the program under discussion.
- (i) When hostile, critical, and irritating questions are addressed to a witness, he should be slow to answer and not permit any irascibility or annoyance in the substance and manner of his reply.
- (j) Frequently, Members of Congress already know the answers to the questions they ask, and are only interrogating (or talking) for the record.
- (k) Witnesses are well advised not to "over-testify", or to overstate a case. Avoid raising collateral and side issues which may bring out controversial matters unnecessarily and thus prejudice the matter the witness is endeavoring to support. Witnesses should, however, be careful to give complete answers to questions. Of course, members' questions should receive courteous treatment, even if they are collateral to or beside the matter under discussion. Specifically, witnesses should not interrupt committee members in their eagerness to reply but should wait to hear the entire question before attempting to answer

- (l) It is important to avoid any semblance of "talking down" to committee members, even in response to questions apparently meaningless or showing complete ignorance. While committee members may be unfamiliar with the subject under discussion, it often happens that the Chairman and senior members have a vast background knowledge.
- (m) Witnesses should refrain from using abbreviations known generally only to the Navy or Department of Defense, such as CV, DD, LSM(R), DCNO, BuPers, MATS, etc., without clarifying statements to go with them. This applies to written matter such as statements, justifications, and tables, as well as oral testimony. It applies particularly to the use of ship designations. Witnesses should also be careful about the use of technical or "shop" terms that are not matters of common knowledge.
- (n) Upon conclusion, and where appropriate, it is well to express appreciation to the Chairman for the opportunity of testifying.

4. All witnesses who testify should be prompt in editing their testimony as soon as it is received. Delaying the transcript for any reason over the deadline allowed by the committees may jeopardize the privilege of reviewing it.

5. The integrity, accuracy, and courtesy of Naval witnesses is a great asset in persuading Congressmen to accept proposals and testimony offered by the Navy Department. Careful selection of witnesses and their adequate preparation, therefore, is essential.¹

¹ "Advice to witnesses testifying before Congressional Committees", Navy Judge Advocate letter JAG: IV: HCB: 1al of 12 October 1951.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

The respect and esteem of Congress for the military is to a very large degree correlated with the amount of money required and spent by the military. The basis for the expenditure of this money is the military budget, thus we might conclude that the military budget is the "heart" of the human relations problem between the military and Congress. It is hoped that this correlation will pose a provocative question to the reader. "What can be done by means of the military budget to improve human relations between the military and Congress?" I have expressed the opinion that it is up to the military to demand the respect of Congress by:

1. Preparing a better budget based on increased efficiency and better understanding of national economy.
2. Understanding the problems of Congress.
3. Proper presentation and justification of the military budget.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

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